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Verbal derivation and valency in Citumbuka

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10. Summary and further research.

10.1. Summary and conclusion

The subject can be any NP, locative prefixes for classes 16, 17, 18, *pa-ku-mu* respectively, or the default agreement prefix *ku-* for an unspecified subject. In Citumbuka word order is not a criterion for identifying an object since post-verbal word order is free. In this thesis, object marking and passivization have been used as tests for identifying an object. The subject and object are the core arguments in Citumbuka. Demoted base objects of applicative and causatives form non-core arguments; the same is true for the theme argument in non-derived ditransitives. Arguments are always required and where they are not expressed they are implied. Locatives are definitely arguments and objects in applicative constructions. In non-derived constructions however, locatives always meet the criteria for objecthood. Thus, properties of locative NPs are bit fuzzy and require an independent further syntactic investigation. The thesis also discusses prepositional phrases in Citumbuka and concludes that some are arguments while others are mere adjuncts. The comitative *na* is analyzed as a multifunctional preposition in Citumbuka. Based on the analysis of *na* in coordinated reciprocals, the chapter concludes that the *na* is still a preposition in coordinated reciprocals. Thus, Citumbuka is characterized as a language that uses the comitative strategy to coordinate constituents. Citumbuka is therefore analysed as a With-language.

The thesis concludes that object marking in Citumbuka is optional in the presence of a full object NP and only one OM per verb is allowed. Object marking has a tendency of indicating definiteness and specificity. On object marking of coordinated object NPs, the thesis findings shows that Citumbuka has four strategies, (a) avoid object marking (b) first conjunct strategy (c) plural of the conjuncts strategy and (d) default class object marking, usually class 8 for non-human and class 2 for humans.

There are two passive suffixes *-iw* and *-ik*. The latter has almost replaced the former and it also marks neuter-passive, also known as the stative in Bantu linguistics and potential passive. Lexicalised passive suggest that the suffix *-izw-* might have been the most common at some point. While in the passive the agent is implied, in the neuter-passive it is deleted and therefore cannot be implied at all. The suffix *-ik* is homophonous to the *-ik* causative which is discussed in chapter 6. The passive in Citumbuka demotes the agent and introduces a new subject. The subject of the passive may be an object, locative prefixes *ku-pa-mu-* marking location and the default agreement prefix *ku-* for impersonal passives. Impersonal passives can be derived from both transitive and intransitive unergative verbs. Thus, the thesis

concludes that the passive in Citumbuka demotes the agent but does not always promote the logical object to the subject position.

The reciprocal suffix is pluractional and only attaches to transitive verbs. The suffix has a wide range of usages including deriving reciprocal, anticausative, associative/collective, distributive as well depatientive constructions. In constructions with the reciprocal suffix there are several participants (or comparable parts) that are engaged in symmetrical activity or state of affairs. In the intriguing depatientive constructions, the use of the reciprocal suffix creates a verb in which there is implied but not expressed an extra constituent that is absolutely unspecified and the action gets the meaning of more than once. Depatientives are associated with an imperfective aspect and they demote the object syntactically but not semantically. The use of the reciprocal suffix in depatientives and are iterative. The depatientive is comparable to impersonal passives. While in impersonal passives the agent is unspecified, in depatientives it is the patient that is left unspecified. It is also important to note that in the split co-participants type of reciprocal the prepositional *na*-phrase cannot be omitted as doing so changes the meaning of the reciprocal expression to that of the depatientive one. What deviates the depatientive from the other *-an-* derivations is the fact that they all keep their object referents as well as including them into their subjects.

The applicative suffix, *-il* introduces an applied object (AO) with a range of functions: beneficiary, maleficiary, goal, locative (and source, path), instrument (and ingredients), judicantis. Beneficiaries are of three categories: pure beneficiaries, substitutive beneficiary and recipient-beneficiaries. Maleficiaries are of two categories: plain maleficiaries and source maleficiaries. Locatives are also in three categories: location, path and source. Motive roles are not AOs, hence their inability to passivize and take OM. Apart from deriving applicative constructions, the applicative suffix in Citumbuka is also used to derive sociative constructions. Reduplicated forms of the applicative morpheme are used to express multiple applicatives as well as iteration. Locative and instrumental applicatives are symmetric while the rest are strictly asymmetric. In terms of Pytkänen's (2000) H and L applicative typology, the ability of the applicative suffix to attach to both unergative and unaccusative verbs in Citumbuka suggest that Citumbuka has both high (H) and low (L) applicatives. Citumbuka confirms that the high/low applicative typology does not parallel the (a)symmetric language typology since Citumbuka is asymmetric in terms of Bresnan and Moshi (1993) but patterns as H applicative.

Citumbuka has three causative suffixes, *-ik-*, *-Y-* and *-isk-*. The causative suffix *-ik-* is homophonous to the stative/passive suffix and is the least pro-

ductive. It only attaches to a limited of intransitive bases. The suffix *-Y-* is more productive than *-ik-* but less productive than *-isk-* and attaches to some intransitive and transitive bases. This form has more lexicalized causative verbs than the other two in Citumbuka. The *-Y-* causative suffix changes the phonological form of the base verb in certain environments such as when attached to stem-finals like l, k, p and w. The causative *-isk-* is the most productive among the three and attaches to almost any base. Attachment of the regular causative suffix to the monotransitive base results into two possibilities: either the causee takes over object properties of the base object in which case the resultant construction is a ditransitive, or the causee is in oblique in which case the resultant construction is a monotransitive. Citumbuka also shows that there is a possibility of having causatives with unspecified causee. Other types of causative constructions include autobenefactive, associative and conversive causatives. Citumbuka also allows for periphrastic and double causatives. Conversive and autobenefactive causatives are valency preserving. The causative suffixes can also be used as verbalizers in Citumbuka.

The semantics associated with causatives include permissive, assistive, coercive, and de-reflexivity. Causatives can also be direct or indirect. Previous studies have shown that Caus₁ and Caus₂ derive direct causatives while Caus₃ derives indirect causatives in Citumbuka. This study, however argues that even Caus₃ can derive direct causatives, and likewise, Caus₁ and Caus₂ also show instances of indirect causation. Periphrastic and double causatives are associated with indirect causation in Citumbuka. Double causatives may also indicate distant and chain causation.

The excessive derivational suffix in Citumbuka is *-ísk-*. The excessive/intensive has been treated differently from the causative suffix *-isk-* in Citumbuka. Suffixation of the excessive suffix does not introduce a new argument. The excessive cannot be distinguished from the causative on the basis of suffix doubling. Both causative and excessive suffixes can double as demonstrated in this thesis. Doubling of the excessive suffix indicates a higher degree of excessiveness.

Chapter 9 discusses suffix order in Citumbuka. It demonstrates that Citumbuka disobeys Hyman's (2003) default Bantu templatic order of CARP. The thesis concludes that suffix order in Citumbuka is compositional.

10.2. Further Research

Citumbuka does not have a descriptive grammar. The few scholars who have worked on this language have tackled some parts of the language, that is, some description of verbal derivation aspects and some phonology. There is need to have a comprehensive descriptive grammar and a detailed

syntactic analysis of Citumbuka. This would help in accounting for the behaviour of locative and instrumental ditransitives as well as the object properties of tritransitive constructions in Citumbuka. The thesis also recommends a comprehensive study of the phonology of Citumbuka. This would help to explain among other things, instances where the -Y- causative suffix changes the form of the base stem to -zg- and -sk- in certain environments. It would also explain the difference between the causative suffix and the excessive suffix which is reflected in how the two are pronounced.